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**Supplement**

# Daily Report

## MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

*REPORTAGE ON EVENTS IN IRAN*

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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FBIS DAILY REPORT

# CONTENTS

*Middle East & North Africa*

*Vol V No 060 Supp 072*

*26 March 1980*

Reportage on Events in Iran

Developments Concerning U.S. Relations, Hostages 1
Religious Community Resolution on Shah 1
Students Statement No 107 2
Qotbzadeh on Shah, Hostages 5
Religious Leader's Message to As-Sadat 5
Commentary on As-Sadat 6
Ad-Dawudi Condemnation of As-Sadat 7
LE MONDE on Shah's Move [Paris 25 Mar] 7
Beheshti on Conditions for Release 10
Brzezinski on Shah's Move 11
Bani-Sadr Gives Interview on Domestic, Foreign Policy 11
[Paris AN-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AD-DUWALI 24-30 Mar]
Tudeh Party Official Interviewed on Elections 22
[MTI]
Revolution Guards Issue Statement on Factory Oil Fire 22
Geophysics Center Issues Report on Khvoy Earthquake 23
Revolution Council Members Arrive in Bandar 'Abbas 23
Violence, Disorder Reported, Discussed 24
Release of Urumiyeh Hostages 24
Gang's Attack on Village 24
Reportage on International Developments 24
Soviets 'Agree' to Regional Conference 25
Qotbzadeh on Afghanistan 25
Bani-Sadr Interview on Afghanistan 25
Message From Islamic Organization 26
Purge of 'Ba'th Agents' 26
Discussions With Romanian Trade Delegation 27
[TIMES 9 Mar] 27
Khalkhali Statement in Tripoli
Bani-Sadr on Arab Ties 27
National Voice of Iran Discusses Nature of Revolution 27
Panamanian President Royo's Statements to Tokyo Press on Shah 28
[cross-reference] 28

DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING U.S. RELATIONS, HOSTAGES

Religious Community Resolution on Shah

LD251530 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1115 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. The resolution passed by the religious community on the occasion of today's march;

The oppressed nations of the world, especially the much-suffering nation of Iran, have witnessed the dangerous conspiracies and observed the crimes committed by the world devouring imperialism headed by the government of America. This time, the Iranian nation is faced with a new conspiracy to support the puppet, the filthy mercenary. On the last day, when evidence and documents of the crimes committed by the filthy Mohammad Reza was prepared and was about to be handed to the Panamanian authorities, he was transferred to an Islamic country which, because of the loyalty of its ruling class has become a base for imperialism and Zionism, intends to divert the course of the struggle of the brave nation of Iran from America to Egypt and free the treacherous shah from the claws of revenge. The Muslim nation of Iran is placed in confrontation with the Muslim nation of Egypt at the will of the Eastern and Western superpowers.

The United States is not aware that the risen and revolutionary nation of Iran, under the leadership of the imam of the nation and supported by the blood of tens of thousands of martyrs and its own unreserved struggles, has been able to bury the 2,500 year-old regime, subservient to foreigners, in the rubbish dump of history and will be able to neutralize these conspiracies with utmost awareness and diligence.

Now in order to condemn this satanic conspiracy and to announce our readiness to make any sacrifice to insure the realization of the historic message of His Great Eminence Ayatollah Imam Khomeyni, imam of the nation, founder of the Islamic Republic and reviver of the authenticity of Shi'a and Islam, we announce in unison the following articles:

1. We condemn America's disgraceful act of transfering the treacherous shah to save him from the revengeful hands of the oppressed nation of Iran.

2. We deem the Egyptian regime's acceptance of this filthy element to be a disgraceful act and a treason against Islam and Muslims, directed toward the Zionistic interests of the world devouring America. We are sure that the noble and Muslim nation of Egypt will not tolerate this disgrace just as in earlier cases. The sparks of this treason committed by the subservient regime of As-Sadat, companion of Begin, will ignite the fire of the Egyptian people's anger and will consign As-Sadat and his regime to the same destiny as that of Mohammad Reza and his regime.

3. We condemn this discord-creating act committed by Carter who wants to confront the nation of Iran with the brother Muslim nation of Egypt by sheltering the deposed shah in the Islamic country of Egypt. We expect the Muslim nation of Egypt to carry out its Islamic mission with complete awareness of the nature of events.

4. Resolving the issue of the hostages depends on the extradition of the deposed shah and return of the wealth he has plundered. If this is refused, their trial in the Islamic Revolution Courts of Iran by representatives of the people in the Islamic Consultative Assembly is the demand of the brave nation of Iran.

5. We, with all our power, fully support the important historic New Year message of the imam of the nation, which was in line with the wishes of the Islamic revolution and the righteous demands of the Muslim nation of Iran; we demand that all revolutionary establishments, administrative and security organizations and all classes of the nation must continue to carefully implement these commands, which are the only way for the continuation of the revolution and a guarantee for the happiness of our Iranian Islamic society.

6. We seriously ask those groups of people who, since the victory of the revolution have done nothing but commit sabotage and who hypocritically conspire, to reply to the inspirational proclamation of the idol-breaker of our time--the Imam Khomeyni--and preserve the monolithic unity of the nation, which is the greatest certainty for our victory. They must prove their sincerity to the struggling Islamic nation of Iran by abandoning their policies which would eventually lead to achieving the aims of the Eastern and Western imperialists. Otherwise they will be considered among those against the movement of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

7. While announcing our full support for the beloved and elected president of the nation of Iran, we demand that the sacred laws of Islam be carried out more decisively and the imam's message must be implemented in all the nation's affairs. We demand the removal of the saboteurs' hands from the organs of the executive.

8. Parallel with our struggle against the Western imperialists, we condemn the plots and violations of the Eastern colonialists, in particular the plots and aggression against the brother Islamic country of Afghanistan. We support all freedom movements in the world, especially those of Palestine, Eritrea, Afghanistan, Philippines, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and any other movement which has risen to destroy idols under the banner "God is great." We pray for the success of all oppressed nations in the world.

9. We condemn the plots, sabotage and disgraceful actions of the reactionary Iraqi Ba'thist regime across our borders and we class all their actions as those carried by the world-devouring imperialism. We invite the oppressed Muslim nation of Iraq to wage a merciless struggle against the puppet regime of the traitorous Saddam Husayn; and we support all the anti-satanic movements of Iraqi Muslim revolutionaries.

10. We support the Muslim student followers of the imam's policy and continue our divine struggle against imperialism. We will not stop until the deposed shah and the wealth he has plundered from the oppressed Muslim nation of Iran are returned to the people.

11. Despite differences created by hypocrites and divisions brought by the (?enemies of God), we shall strengthen the union between clergy and students and the union between universities and seminaries; and hand in hand beside the masses of the people we shall come down on the heads of the internal and external enemies of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

To the opportunists: Shame on you, stop conspiracy.

Students Statement No 107

LD252119 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] Dear listeners, just as announced at the beginning of this news transmission by the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, during today's march by Tehran inhabitants outside the U.S. den of espionage, statement No 107 by the Muslim student followers of the imam's policy was read out by one of the students.

Continuing this news transmission, we draw your attention to the details of this statement. [begin recording of unidentified student]:

Statement No 107 by the Muslim student followers of the imam's policy: In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Entertaining the thought of plotting or motivated by some other whim, they take him away and give him asylum in order to make their nation believe that they are humanitarians, but the nations are awake and know what these superpowers are after. They keep pushing the issue but our powerful nation is resolutely standing up to them. But when they see that they can no longer keep him in the United States, under the pretext that they wish to expel him they sent him to another place where he continues to enjoy their protection. Little did they know that retreat would once again be ineffective and that our nation would be ready to carry on until the bitter end. [cheers]

O valorous, honorable nation of Iran, the world-devouring United States, armed with calculated plots and criminal designs, is engaged in action against the revolution by the meek in Iran, who have become the vanguard of world revolution. Though we have chosen to remain silent in order to preserve unity and to counter abuse by opportunists and illintentioned people, we are confident that the magnificent, combatant nation of Iran will traverse its road to the end and will not forget the crimes of the world-devouring United States, the repeated bloodshed by the traitor Mohammad Reza and the issue of the spy hostages, of whom three are staying at the Foreign Ministry. [cheers]. Rather it will continue the march [prolonged cheers] along the straight path of Islam as ordered by our imam, the idol-breaker Khomeyni, and it will follow to the end its greater revolution with ever increasing determination and seriousness.

Yes, the only successful method for the extradition of the hangman shah is none other than the method of the imam; the adoption of non-revolutionary methods gives our foes an opportunity to think up further plots and in the long run will culminate to their advantage.

As the commission of investigation was unable to coordinate itself and its program with the imam's command and message and since the United States once again lost hope for the release of the hostages, it embarked on a new plot and took the opportunity to once again take delivery of the hangman and refugee Mohammad Reza from one hireling puppet to hand him over to another puppet, to the traitorous government named after As-Sadat. [cheers]

The odious nature of the world-devouring and plotting United States, the number one enemy of the honest and magnificent nation of Iran, is daily becoming clearer and necessitates even more urgently our nation's commitment to the New year message of the imam, who raised his voice as loud and clear as the Imam 'Ali, peace be upon him. The Imam Khomeyni graciously said: We should come to an immediate candid reckoning with the powers and superpowers and thereby show them that despite all the (?multifarious) difficulties with which we are beset we continue to react in accordance with the correct ideology of our teachings.

Yes, as regards the oppressive superpowers, particularly the criminal United States, we should renounce non-revolutionary, unoriginal methods and with one hand carry the Koran and with the other hand defend our self respect and honor so as to deny them the power to think up plots against us. If we were to adopt other methods in order to confront the plotting United States then the United States would undoubtedly win. [prolonged cheers].

This is the path of the imam and the loud cry of the imam on the eve of the Iranian New Year in his confrontation with the superpowers.

The world meek are aware and know that these rescues and transfers are none other than U.S. designs which will, as it falsely imagines, release it from the tight corner of having to return the deposed shah and allow it to flaunt the dignity of the nations. The zealous Iranian nation is vigilant and will neutralize these traitors with utter decisiveness by adopting revolutionary methods and it will not deviate from the straight path of Islam, which means particularly waging struggle against the oppressive powers and superpowers. [prolonged cheers]

The criminal, Zionist government of the United States should realize that these disgraceful rescues and transfers not only will not unite a single knot of the problem of the hostages but will bring into broad relief fresh issues for the benefit of the great Iranian nation.

A revolution is going on in Iran today, a revolution even greater than the first revolution, and just as the nation overthrew the shameful 2,500-year old imperial rule despite all the plots and machinations of the United States, today, too, despite all U.S. efforts, it will remove this arch-Satan from the world arena. [cheers]

We hold in esteem the feelings and struggles of the Panamanian nation, particularly its valiant youth who did not relish seeing such a stigma on the good name of their country and finally drove the traitor Mohammad Reza out of their country. Today our nation is confident that our dear Muslim brothers and sisters who are suffering under the jackboots of the agents of the traitorous As-Sadat, that mercenary pawn of the United States and close friend of Israel and Begin, will not allow this state of affairs to continue and, by rising up, will drive away from the dear land of Egypt both those venal Satans, that is, Mohammad Reza and As-Sadat. [prolonged cheers] .

Oh dear and brotherly nation of Egypt, stop allowing the United States to soil the good name of the Muslim Arabs and prevent it from turing Egypt into a nation friendly to and cooperative with Israel by making Egypt stand up against valiant Iran, against Iran's Islamic Revolution and against heroic Palestine and dear Lebanon: The United States should be confronted with a mobilization of all forces, as a moment's carelessness would utterly destroy the framework of the state. [cheers]

We should strive until we succeed in eradicating all subservience and in cutting all the shameful ties with the United States brought us as gifts, and by dint of our continuous, divine struggle and our sacred crusade we should build a world on our decisive positions worthy of the exalted movement of the meek and the deprived nations of the world.

It is hoped that almighty God will graciously favor us and maintain our imam--this hope of the world meek--in good health so that the nation of Islam, under the leadership of this leader and by carrying out his revolutionary commands, will cast onto the garbage dump of history the world's arrogant ones, particularly the Eastern and Western superpowers, and raise aloft throughout the world the banner of "there is no God but Allah." [cheers]

It is hoped that the wakeful and combatant nation of Islam will guarantee the implementation of the comprehensive message of the nation's imam, the idol-breaking Khomeyni [prolonged cheers], the message of Islam and the Koran and also the description of the condition of the martyred old men and women and the loud cry of all the world meek. We say this with the hope of victory soon, though our responsibility is gravely onerous.

[Signed] The Muslim student followers of the iman's policy. [end recording]

## Qotbzadeh on Shah, Hostages

LD251730 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1655 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] According to a PARS NEWS AGENCY report Sadeq Qotbzadeh, our country's minister of foreign affairs, this afternoon took part in a press conference attended by domestic and foreign correspondents. At this conference Sadeq Qotbzadeh replied to correspondents' questions on the deposed shah's flight to Egypt and the position adopted by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this connection and also about the issue of the U.S. hostages.

In reply to the question whether or not the Iranian Government would take steps to extradite the deposed shah from Egypt, Mr Qotbzadeh said: In our opinion the present Government of Egypt has no sovereignty over that country and, therefore, when we take steps toward that end the extradition documents should be dispatched to either the United States or Israel, since Anwar as-Sadat is only a plaything in the hands of those two countries.

Regarding the effect of recent developments on the issue of the hostages, the minister of foreign affairs explained that that issue would undoubtedly become more complex. Since the outset of the crisis all and sundry have remonstrated with Iran for violating international laws. But they themselves--at every conceivable opportunity--are violating the laws, and when the issue involves a few Americans the noise and din begins. When the Canadians trampled the law under foot they received even a gold medal from the United States.

Mr Qotbzadeh then explained the steps taken by the Iranian Government for the extradition of the deposed shah from Panama, saying: In pursuance of the Panamanian Government's request for delivering the extradition documents within 60 days, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran conducted its efforts and within that deadline collected, translated and presented the relevant documents. Regrettably, Kissinger and Rockefeller, thanks to their feverish efforts, succeeded in enabling this criminal man to flee from Panama at the last moment.

In connection with Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's flight from Panama to Egypt, Sadeq Qotbzadeh, our country's minister of foreign affairs, today replied to questions put to him by our correspondent in a television interview.

## Religious Leader's Message to As-Sadat

LD251810 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1725 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] According to a report by the central news bureau of the Voice and Profile of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in connection with Egypt granting asylum to the deposed shah, a telegram was sent today by the 'allameh, [religious scholar] Yahya Nuri, to As-Sadat in Cairo. The text of the telegram reads as follows:

Mr As-Sadat, the Islamic state of Egypt. In the logic of Islam, should two Muslims--and, in certain circumstances, even one Muslim--testify to a certain right then no trial by law would be able to overlook that right.

Tens of millions of Iranian Muslims are testifying to blood-spilling aggression, pillage and half a century of oppression by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and his father against our people.

You have ignored all these testimonies and transgressions against the rights of our society, and at Carter's order and that of your other masters and in consultation with Begin you have enabled Mohammad Reza Pahlavi to find his way to the dear soil of Egypt and thereby heaped yet another fresh disgrace on your past disgraceful acts by capitulating to imperialism and Zionism.

Whenever you prevent a sin you carry out a pious act and whenever you bar the path to a wrong deed, that also is correct.

Commentary on As-Sadat

JN251914 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1810 GMT 25 Mar 80 JN

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] What many rulers, friends of the deposed shah, dared not to do was done by As-Sadat when he opened Egypt's gates wide to the dirtiest creature ever known by humanity. Does As-Sadat consider this boldness as courage as trumpeted by the Western newspapers today and yesterday? Is it courage to crush man's dignity, reject the peoples' call and ally with killers? Yes, it is courage in the opinion of Carter and Begin, who were dazzled by As-Sadat's daring, which exceeded theirs. Yes, it is courage in the norm of the cohesion of the imperialist interests, since the shah and As-Sadat were two colleagues in the department of foreign interests and two bridges over which the invaders' plots passed.

This rapprochement along the path of the masters' benefits, which came to a halt after the victory of the Islamic revolution, moved As-Sadat's heart and conscience when he saw his dear friend chased everywhere, hated by all people and about to be brought to justice within a few days. As-Sadat found the time was suitable to prevent the shah's trial, so he arranged the matter with the Panamanian Government at the instigation of the United States.

Moreover, other interests made As-Sadat take this task upon himself. Most prominent among these is his desire to please his masters and friends in Israel so that he will get a high price for his deed. It is well-known that the Israeli-As-Sadat negotiations have been impeded every now and then with Israel's intransigence. As-Sadat, in turn, reacts to this intransigence by offering a gift to his masters, after which the Israeli stand turns flexible. Hence, observers realize that the price As-Sadat paid to the last Israeli broker was his reception of the deposed shah in Egypt.

As-Sadat has another reason for receiving the shah. It is his greed for the profits he will gain through this sick man's presence on his land. It is a nasty quality for which As-Sadat has been known throughout his reign. His arms are stretched out begging everywhere, even at the expense of Egypt's people, who strongly rejected these immoral practices of As-Sadat and his clique who trade in their name. However, the proud people of Egypt refuse to live at the tables of others as As-Sadat does today.

Politically, As-Sadat's deed will increase the cohesion of the reactionary forces in the region. These forces were very much satisfied with his very noble deed. This deed will increase the Israeli-As-Sadat mutual aid, which will be a new point for imposing U.S. hegemony on the region. The only way to foil this dangerous mutual aid is the cooperation of the Islamic peoples with the Egyptian people, who are angry with the agent regime.

The Egyptian people's revolution needs bait, and not meaningless talk. The people, who are used to jihad, cannot become weak if they find the means prepared for them. The means are our people, who went all together today and expressed their support for their brothers, the Egyptian people. Our people realize the severity of the pain from which these people are suffering under the yoke of a despotic agent regime like that of the defunct shahdom.

The popular revolution, which comprises all the national Islamic forces in the region, will be the definite guarantee for the expulsion of the deposed shah from Egypt and the expulsion of As-Sadat with him outside the domain of history.

Ad-Dawudi Condemnation of As-Sadat

JN251947 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 25 Mar 80 JN

[Text] Adib ad-Dawudi, political adviser to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and member of the international commission investigating the deposed shah's crime, today condemned the Egyptian regime's president, Anwar as-Sadat, for giving shelter to the deposed shah.

Ad-Dawudi said that As-Sadat has not only ignored the rights of the Palestinians, but he also sold himself to America and Israel and fought against the liberation movements in the Arab world. He added that arrival of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in Cairo is a plot against the Iranian Islamic Revolution and will not help solve the problem of the U.S. hostages in Tehran.

LE MONDE on Shah's Move

LD251639 Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Mar 80 p 4 LD

[Eric Rouleau dispatch: "Astonishment and Anger in Tehran"]

[Text] Tehran--Omar Torrijos' refusal fell like a thunderbolt on the small group of people gathered around Mr Bani-Sadr in the president's private lounge Sunday evening. After finishing his conversation with Panama's "strong man", Sadeq Qotbzadeh, chief of diplomacy, hung up the receiver and said, with a dumbfounded expression: "The shah has left!" Those present were visibly overwhelmed and were silent for a long time. The head of state, sitting crosslegged on one of the sofas and bending forward, considered the matter while telling his beads. His close advisers Mr Salamatian, Mr Entezarian and Mr Ghazanfarpur nodded their heads sadly when he finally said: "So much effort for nothing."

It had been an exhausting day. Shortly before dawn Sunday Mr Qotbzadeh had received Mr Torrijos' strange ultimatum: The Panama leader called on the Iranian Government--by what right!--to transfer the American hostages from the hands of the "Islamic students" to the care of Tehran's official authorities, failing which the shah would leave Panama at midnight that day, in other words several hours before the request for extradition was officially presented, with supporting documents, by the Islamic Republic's representatives.

The Iranian chief of diplomacy hurried to see Imam Khomeyni Sunday morning while President Bani-Sadr, touring the north of the country, quickly returned to Tehran. An extraordinary session of the Revolution Council was called, but most of its members could not be found as they had gone on vacation for the Persian New Year. The Iranian leaders held meeting after meeting and negotiated during numerous telephone calls with the Panama leaders who seemed completely inflexible.

"Manage as Best You Can!"

A limited "council of war" was held at 2000 at the president's residence. One question came up again and again during their deliberations: How could they force the "Islamic students" to hand over "their" American prisoners? Mr Qotbzadeh reported on his talks with Imam Khomeyni. The "revolution guide," he reported, told him that "he will not oppose the transfer of the hostages," but he thinks it is not his place to "meddle in this affair." Iran has a president of the republic, a Revolution Council and a government which should be capable of solving this conflict without his intervention. In other words, it is an administrative affair which does not directly concern him. "Manage as best you can!" the venerable imam apparently said in conclusion.

Mr Qotbzadeh, the bete noire of the Islamic students who have described him publicly as a "liar" and accused him implicitly on many occasions of having become the tool of the "American imperialists," refrained from informing the students of the Panamanian ultimatum.

What was to be done? The "council of war" chaired by Bani-Sadr decided that vigorous action was required. However, it would require several hours of preparation. Qotbzadeh telephoned Panama's "strong man" once again at around 2300: "Give us until 0700 tomorrow morning. We promise to meet your demand," he told him, urging him to prevent the former sovereign from leaving the country. Torrijos' reply was cutting: "No, that is impossible. Moreover, the shah is about to board the plane." The shah was therefore leaving Panama 1 hour before the ultimatum expired.

The Iranian leaders were stunned. They had mistakenly believed that they were being subjected to the blackmail customary in such negotiations and thought they could overcome it by a last-minute compromise. Hence their temporary confusion. Argentinian lawyer Hector Villalon, who has played a leading role in negotiations between Tehran, Washington and Panama in the past few weeks, broke the silence and said by way of consolation: "In any case Panama had no legal way of preventing the shah from leaving...."

This remark prompted a sharp reaction from Qotbzadeh: "Come on, now," he exclaimed in French, "they have violated their own laws: They ought to have placed that man under arrest more than 2 months ago when we handed them our first request for extradition. You don't allow a criminal to leave a few hours before obtaining proof of his guilt!"

Turning toward us the chief of Iranian diplomacy continued: "We offered them all they demanded: A well-documented file and even a firm promise that we would refrain from executing the shah if they handed him over to us following extradition proceedings in the Panama courts."

Is it not clear, we asked, that the Panamanian leaders have acted according to the U.S. Government's wishes?

Qotbzadeh ruled out involvement by the Carter administration, while Bani-Sadr expressed a less definite opinion: "I do not know whether it is the U.S. Government or some faction in Carter's administration which has prevented the problem being solved. I am convinced of one thing: There are some elements in the United States who are trying to scuttle any possible settlement. Those people are prepared to sacrifice the hostages to attain their political ends--namely, to weaken the Islamic Republic and safeguard what they portray to their fellow citizens as being their national dignity."

A "Greek Gift" for As-Sadat

After a moment's thought the president of the republic added: "Make no mistake: The problem cannot be avoided in this way. We will continue to demand of the United States the shah's extradition. Panama or Egypt--it's all the same to us: Both are countries owing allegiance to the United States. As-Sadat is even more closely tied to the White House than Torrijos." Ahmad Salamatian introduced a note of satisfaction by saying: "Carter has just given poor As-Sadat a Greek gift." Everybody agreed with satisfaction that a spark had just been thrown into "a highly inflammable region."

[Question] Mr president, Tehran and Washington had agreed, through Mr Kurt Waldheim, that the Iranian forces responsible for law and order should replace the "Islamic students" by taking charge of the hostages. In return the United States had promised not to hinder the extradition proceedings started in Panama. Since Iran was unable to keep its promise, was it not foreseeable that President Carter would feel release from his promise in turn?

"No!" Bani-Sadr replied sharply. "It is not true that we failed to keep our promises. Of course, there was a hitch and the UN commission was unable to visit the hostages as had been agreed. These things happen. If the commission had agreed to extend its stay for 1 to 2 days as I requested, I would have been able to smooth out the difficulty...."

The head of state is convinced that the Islamic Republic is the victim of an "international plot" whose ramifications extend to "Iranian circles favorable to one or other of the two superpowers." According to him, the United States and the USSR are acting in the same way to prolong the crisis, to prevent Iran from following a policy of national independence and establishing relations of trust "with a third power, whatever it might be, Europe for instance."

The two superpowers, Bani-Sadr added bitterly, have unfortunately found suitable collaborators in Iran. Parties such as the Tudeh communist party are maintaining an "atmosphere of extremism" and of permanent agitation in the country, thereby urging the public to reject any compromise, portrayed as an "ignominious surrender to U.S. imperialism."

Kissinger and Rockefeller Responsible

For their part the "Islamic students" have helped to defeat the Tehran government. "By giving the picture of a country which is not governed they have undermined my authority by giving the impression abroad, especially to our interlocutors, that the hostages' fate depends on them and them alone," he explained.

Bani-Sadr continued angrily, raising his voice: "That must stop and will stop. We can no longer tolerate the persistence of more than one decisionmaking center. I will say this to the people, this time with brutal frankness. The people will understand me. I will also tell them that we cannot resist one of the superpowers--the United States--without struggling equally energetically against the other--against the Russian imperialists who are camping on our borders. If we are to win we must fight on both fronts at the same time...."

This idea is also held by Sadeq Qotbzadeh. Despite his laborious negotiations throughout Sunday the foreign minister found time to grant numerous interviews to various representatives of the American press, notably to the three main television channels, during which he denounced "Soviet interference in Iranian internal affairs" without, however, being able to give any details about the "extreme tension which exists between Tehran and Moscow."

The chief of Iranian diplomacy furthermore repeated to each of his interlocutors that he holds Mr Kissinger and Mr Rockefeller responsible for the shah's departure from Panama. According to his theory--generally received with skepticism by the American journalists--this is a "plot" hatched by the Republican Party to maintain a crisis which would certainly lead to Mr Carter's defeat in the presidential elections....To thwart these "plots" emanating from outside and from within the country Qotbzadeh took a grave decision around 0300 this Monday 24 March: He would order the "Islamic students" to hand over the hostages to the republic's legal authorities without delay. He tried to contact President Bani-Sadr so as to involve him in the measures he planned to take, but in vain. The head of state's bodyguards who had received orders not to disturb him before 0700 refused pointblank to wake him, despite the chief of diplomacy's exhortations.

The trial of strength was narrowly avoided. Qotbzadeh, after due consideration, gave the press agencies the following statement: "If the former shah is arrested when his plane stops to refuel and taken back to Panama to face extradition proceedings, the hostages will be transferred to the official authorities within 24 hours." This really means that the chief of diplomacy was resigned himself to accepting the new situation.

Nonetheless a new confrontation between Iranian leaders and the "Islamic students" seems difficult to avoid. The students are girding their loins and preparing to denounce the government's "capitulatory" policy. They had intended to issue a communique Monday afternoon. The radio, to which they still have access, could report it. The television, which has "fallen" into the hands of Bani-Sadr's supporters, is very likely to boycott it. The newspapers will not appear again until Wednesday morning, owing to the New Year celebrations. The struggle to win the Iranian public's support will then start in earnest. The two camps have supporters in the mass media. However, the Islamic students also enjoy considerable support within the clergy which could--in the absence of orders to the contrary from Imam Khomeyni--tip the scales in their favor.

Beheshti on Conditions for Release

NC260918 Paris AFP in English 0913 GMT 26 Mar 80 NC

[Text] Tehran, March 26 (AFP)--Iran will demand harsher conditions for releasing its 50 American hostages now that the shah has "fled" to Egypt on the eve of Iranian proceedings to extradite him from Panama, the secretary-general of the ruling Revolutionary Council said today.

Ayatollah Mohammed Hoseyn Beheshti added at a press conference that he thought a majority on the council wanted to leave the hostages in the custody of the Islamic militants who seized the U.S. Embassy on November 4. The Iranian public wanted to put the hostages on trial if the shah and his fortune were not handed over to Iran, Dr. Beheshti said. But he described the question of the shah as part of a larger and more important problem--how to guarantee Iran's independence from the superpowers.

Dr. Beheshti also called for the breaking of relations with the United States. "When a superpower does not respect our independence, we do not need political and economic connections with it," he said. But a break in relations would not come before a thorough discussion by the Revolutionary Council, he added. He said Iran was struggling to be independent both of the United States and the Soviet Union. Dr. Beheshti is a leader of the arch-conservative Islamic Republican Party, which won the most seats in the March 14 first round of parliamentary elections. He also is president of the Supreme Court.

Brzezinski on Shah's Move

LD261008 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0930 GMT 26 Mar 80 LD

[Text] According to a UPI report, Brzezinski, the American President's assistant for national security affairs, has announced: The problem of the deposed shah has never had a close link with the hostage crisis in Iran. He added: America has no further obligations toward the deposed shah of Iran.

The Iranian foreign minister has also said: The problem of the deposed shah and the issue of the hostages are two different problems; and Brzezinski has confirmed this opinion. Brzezinski told reporters: Now that the deposed shah of Iran has found a safe place in Egypt, we have no obligation or commitments toward him. He added that he does not think that the departure of shah from Panama and his arrival in Egypt will have any effect on the fate of the American hostages; and he believes that Mohammad Reza Pahlavi has never been a problem, and that the real problem is the illegal detention of Americans by a group of fanatic militants; and in his view the Iranian authorities will find out that the detention of hostages will isolate Iran in the world. He said: We would like to solve this problem through peaceful means. Brzezinski said: The American President and the secretary of state have repeatedly announced that they prefer to solve this problem through constructive and positive means.

BANI-SADR GIVES INTERVIEW ON DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY

LD251017 Paris AN-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AD-DUWALI in Arabic 24-30 Mar 80 pp 28-32 LD

[Interview granted by Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr to Samir ad-Duwayhi in Tehran--date not given]

[Text] [Question] Three characteristics give your revolution its historic importance: its popular character, its awareness of the Islamic and Eastern cultural identity vis-a-vis Western domination, and its freedom and independence from the major world powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union. In this respect, I would like to ask you a number of questions about your strategy for preserving these characteristics. What will you do to insure that the Islamic Republic's new institutions do not conflict with the popularity and spontaneity of your revolution? In other words, how will you save the free democracy which you are seeking to establish from the peril of bureaucracy, which is the prerequisite and, at the same time, the tragedy of modern states.

[Answer] What is really worrying us is the bureaucracy we have inherited from the former regime. We tried to rectify the situation at the beginning but failed, because bureaucracy conflicts with our revolution. We also tried to set up revolutionary institutions alongside this bureaucracy, but these institutions failed because there was a clear contradiction between the old administration and the new, and this weakens our revolution.

The solution is to change the structure of the administration in a manner which leads to the elimination of the ruling echelon's power base, so that the worker will be liberated and the producers will manage production.

[Question] Would that be a kind of self-management?

[Answer] Yes, provided that we draw a line between the ownership of capital and decision-making. As far as we are concerned, the decision-making is important.

In the Western style of self-management, the ownership of equipment and tools is important--that is, the ownership of things, whereas we believe that the basic question concerns who makes the decision. By this change in decision-making, we can develop our revolutionary movement in a manner that will enable the people to control all their affairs.

The general principle in our policy is therefore that, whenever a problem arises, we will have recourse to the people to solve it.

[Question] How do you understand the reemergence of the Islamic identity in the present world situation? Do you think that a search must be made for an Eastern cultural identity?

[Answer] I believe that differentiation must not be made between Eastern and Western cultures. The real difference lies between an authoritarian cultural identity and a nonauthoritarian cultural identity. This difference exists all over the world and not merely between East and West.

For example, in the Western culture there are elements which represent the nonauthoritarian identity. These elements are growing daily. Why are the Western countries at present witnessing a clear retreat by the communist and rightist parties alike? Because these parties are authoritarian and put man in the service of accumulation and regeneration of power.

So there is a nonauthoritarian culture which is trying to dissolve the integrated and centralized and regenerating power. This nonauthoritarian culture is Islam, which is the means to destroy the organized and structure power which has been repeating itself throughout history in all its aspects: political, economic, cultural and social.

The nonauthoritarian culture knows no boundaries between East and West. Islam does not support differentiation between what is Western and what is Eastern. But perhaps it is because the West has dominated us and continues to dominate us that we, the dominated, are trying to find and return to our identity. We say that there is East and West because there are dominators and dominated. The truth is that culture cannot but be international. Internationalism of culture, however, does not mean that national culture does not exist. No, all peoples have their own cultural identity, but values are international.

What we have done and have been trying to do is to purge our culture of the authoritarian elements, so that it can become an expression of man's development, be enriched by the continuation of that development and enable the people to keep abreast of other peoples. Thus all mankind will develop. That is what I can say in answer to your question.

[Question] How can a country like Iran preserve its independence among the major powers in the present international situation, particularly since its relations with the world are not very good?

[Answer] If we look at the map of Iran we find that it is a chain of mountains. Nature here is not favorable to man, unlike Europe and the United States, where nature is open and does not disturb the population.

Agriculture here is difficult, and there are always earthquakes. This is in addition to many other difficulties. You would also notice that we are surrounded by authoritarian regimes. The Russians have entered Afghanistan, and they are to the north of us in any case. On the other sides there are the West and the United States.

Life in such conditions is difficult. The people under domination in this world are in a difficult position and are therefore in need of a nonauthoritarian culture that will dissolve authority and take its place.

I have lived and am still living through this revolution, and every day we are facing the same problem: there are quarters that want to replace the shah's authoritarian regime with another authoritarian regime. That is the people will once again be oppressed and dominated and will appease.

As president I am swimming against this tide, because what matters to me is not the presidency but the building of a new culture based on the values that Islam has defined and defended.

Our difficult position will show all mankind that we are an example of such life and of independent development. If we succeed, others will follow our experience.

What must we do to succeed? We must unite internally and solve and abolish the problems that impede our search for identity through the internal education system. So, in less than a year we have enforced laws which, I am sure, no other country in the world has promulgated and implemented in this manner from its first year.

If the conspiracies and threats which we are facing from all sides create difficulties for us they also, on the other hand, facilitate our task in that they help us to overcome barriers and create a cultural homogeneity on the economic, political, cultural and social levels.

I am also the world's first republican president to eat, drink and sleep with the people and talk to them, contrary to all that is written in books about a president keeping his distance from the public, appearing only infrequently, talking little, and so on and so forth. Briefly, a president is supposed to create a strong image of himself and know how to promote his public image and how to behave at ceremonies, because the people love that.

I have proved the contrary, because a president close to the people becomes more effective and can, when faced with resistance from any of the power centers, call upon the people to abolish that center. The president will therefore no longer need security forces, security police and the like.

If our revolution succeeds, the world will see that, as in the Prophet's experience, we can create from the desert a new community that will be a fitting example to be emulated throughout the world. Proceeding from this experience, we can build real relations of friendship with other peoples.

A people enthusiastic about change can love other peoples. Our people today, for example, love other peoples and bear no grudge in their heart against those who dominated them in the recent past. We are against the U.S. Government, but we love the American people. Through our love for others we can create a basis for revolutions in other parts of the world, as a means to the triumph of the human spirit, which has been lost in history.

I am sure that it is not the Islamic peoples alone that have admired our revolution but also the deprived people in the West European countries themselves. They wonder why, if a people like ours, who have been under domination for many centuries, have been able to revolt and to become free, they themselves cannot do the same.

[Question] Europe is progressing, though in small steps, toward becoming an independent world power. So far there are indications that it will be more inclined toward dialog with other cultures. What is your opinion of the idea of an independent Europe?

[Answer] I have constantly supported this idea. If it were not for the internal difficulties facing us and the internal difficulties facing the West European countries, we would have been able together to put into practice a comprehensive, independent policy.

But, just as the shah's regime was unable to get rid of U.S. domination, there are classes and factions in Europe today whose life and social base in linked to U.S. tutelage. Therefore, if Europe really wants independence, it must do as we have done, because independence does not come through internal liberation alone. In other words, Europe must free itself of the groups dominating it, which are linked to the United States. I see in Europe signs of its desire to be independent, but the "old continent" must not fall prey to the "blackmail" which we often faced--that is, the claim that if the United States leaves, then the Russians will come.

Such "blackmail" is unfair, and we have stood up to it. Our revolution has expelled the United States from Iran, but it has also created or brought forth another revolution in Afghanistan which forced the Russians to intervene directly in order to suppress it. Before our revolution was detonated, Afghanistan was calm--a pro-Moscow regime facing no serious problems.

We have also created problems for the Soviet Union inside its own territory, among the Muslims who belong to our religion and culture.

So Europe can be liberated without falling into Soviet hands but, as I said, the European people must not be afraid and must move and elect leaderships independent of any of the two superpowers. Thus Europe will not only have a dominant power but also economic, industrial and cultural power which, through cooperation with other countries such as ours, will open a new horizon for the whole world which will mark the beginning of change in the present world order.

[Question] How do you view the international situation 3 months after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan? What changes did this intervention bring to the Iranian Revolution?

[Answer] We could not stand idly by in the face of this aggression because, as you will observe on the map of the area, if the Red Army reaches the Pakistani borders then Iran will be the next target. That is as far as our continued independence is concerned.

On the other hand, we cannot live in independence while a neighboring people are being crushed by aggression on the part of a superpower. If the Russians claim that because the security of their southern borders was threatened they therefore decided to intervene, they can use the same excuse one day to intervene in Iran.

Of course, in order to justify their intervention the Russians say that there was a definite U.S. and Chinese threat, and that was why they intervened.

In Persian there is an adage which says: A butcher saved a sheep from the wolf's mouth. He took him home and put the knife to its neck to slaughter it. The sheep looked up at him and said: Now I can see that you are my wolf.

It is true that the Americans threaten us, but in the end the wolf turned out to be the Russians, because they are here.

If the Russians try to create internal difficulties for us with the aim of restricting our movement and preventing us from pursuing an active policy with regard to Afghanistan, we will not be surprised. But the Russians realize that our effectiveness is not in the arms that we can offer but is the same effectiveness that ended the shah's regime. We can create a psychological climate of steadfastness which the Soviet Army will be unable to defeat, just as it is unable to do now. Reports and information we receive from Afghanistan confirm that resistance is increasing, and I am sure that the Soviet Army will not be able to remain long in Afghanistan.

[Question] What about the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman?

[Answer] If we look at the contemporary history of Iran and Afghanistan we find that the two superpowers were always in agreement over the fate of these two countries that there was an implicit conviction that the Iranian and Afghan peoples should not be allowed to determine their own future because this would constitute a danger to the balance.

And, with the aim of freezing out any other international power in the area, Moscow and Washington agreed to create a situation in which, essentially, they are the only ones allowed in the area. Therefore, when the Soviets intervene in Afghanistan, the Americans intervene in the Gulf.

One of our important goals is to prevent this international collusion in our area.

[Question] Do you believe that the two giants are equally dangerous or that one is more dangerous than the other?

[Answer] Because we are linked to the United States, its threat is closer and more tangible, but we cannot say that the Soviet Union does not pose a danger to us, since it is on our borders.

[Question] How is Iran at present helping Islamic resistance in Afghanistan?

[Answer] First, the very existence of our revolution is a great support for the Afghan people. That people can see that we have won despite all the difficulties, which strengthens their hope for victory. Moreover, large numbers of Afghan people are coming to Iran and Pakistan, and we help them materially as much as we can.

[Question] Are you not helping the Afghan resistance materially with arms?

[Answer] They have not asked arms from us. Indeed, they prefer medical and material aid and the like. When they ask for arms, we will respond to their request immediately.

[Question] What will you do if the Iranian elected parliamentary assembly decides to follow a policy different from yours?

[Answer] The situation in Iran--the economic difficulties, or rather paralysis, and the political difficulties obstructing the normal course of life--are all to be dealt with in a general action plan, which the political character of the elected assembly will not change. We must manage our economy and absorb the unemployment. There are few ways to achieve this, because the illness is so acute that it calls for surgery.

In the face of this difficult situation the assembly has to choose between two things: either to understand the situation and facilitate the government's task, or to refuse to understand--probably because of an internal power struggle--in which case we will turn to the people directly and let them decide. But I believe that the council will not raise obstacles if things go well.

What is difficult now is to abolish the numerous decision-making centers which have been created here and there; only by abolishing them can the state organ begin operating.

The election of the assembly will facilitate the abolition of centers of power and will allow the centralizing of tasks, responsibilities and lines of action.

[Question] What about the hostages problem? Will the elected assembly place obstacles in the way of solving it?

[Answer] I believe that the hostages problem does not constitute a central or even a main point. Rather, it is one of the weak points in our political strategy.

Why is it a weak point? I have just spoken about the possibility of establishing an independent policy in cooperation with Europe, for I believe that we are strong and we can change the face of the world. The hostages problem has created a climate favorable to the two superpowers but unfavorable to the idea of moving away from the domination of these two powers. For example, to the European, who is influenced by the media, the question of the U.S. Embassy hostages has become the whole issue.

If the assembly does not understand this fact and decides to try the hostages, I do not know what it will do with them afterward. Will it try them and confirm that some of them are spies? We all know that there are spies in all world capitals. Therefore, in my opinion the problem has been enlarged out of all proportion: it is not an important concept.

We must show some courage and tell the people the truth. Certainly the people will understand, because they cannot decide against their own interest.

[Question] Who are the "Muslim students" in the Embassy? You said that they are influenced by the Tudeh Party, while others have said that they are Khomeyni followers.

[Answer] I did not say that they were or that they are now influenced by Tudeh Party. It was the newspaper LE MONDE which published this, but I have said nothing to this effect because I have nothing to confirm it.

I distinguish between what is going on inside the embassy and what is happening outside it.

Outside, every political group is trying to take advantage of the affair--the Tudeh Party in its own way and the other leftist parties in their own way. On our side there are also those who are benefitting from it.

I strongly emphasize that I have no information whatever that would allow me to say that Tudeh Party is inside the embassy.

There is no doubt that among the students in the embassy there are elements which work for parties or for certain quarters. In other words, not all the students group elements are "pure." I do not know for whom the intruding elements among them work, but I know that they are there.

They did not upset me, but they have upset the "Revolution Council." The council had approved the arrival of the fact-finding commission as well as its action. But the "Revolution Council" is weak, and everybody knows that its weakness is due to the fact that it changes its opinion simply under pressure. A change of mind was what created the problem.

[Question] You have often promised to abolish the many decision making centers, whose proliferation has adversely affected political life in Iran. Have you given yourself a period of time to complete the abolition of these centers, including the Revolution Guards and the Revolutionary Committees?

[Answer] I began implementing my plans in this regard some time ago. The first step was to create a public opinion capable of taking action when the need arises. I believe that we have accomplished this step, for the people are ready to move at any moment. Important decisions in this regard will be taken in the coming days.

At present, in my capacity as commander in chief of the armed forces, I am trying to reorganize the army and the police. This reorganization will help to dissolve many of the decision making centers created by the present conditions, including the military and paramilitary organizations.

We will dissolve all the remaining decision making and power centers either through direct or indirect intervention by the people.

[Question] Does Imam Khomeyni support you in this?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] But Imam Khomeyni does not seem to determine anything, since he seldom speaks and, if he speaks, he clarifies nothing.

[Answer] I believe that he will make himself clear very soon.

[Question] When can the UN fact-finding commission return to Iran?

[Answer] Of course, the commission can return at any time it wants.

[Question] When you were foreign minister Iran lost a great political opportunity by not participating in the UN meetings which would have enabled it to make its voice heard throughout the world. The UN commission's departure from Iran was yet another lost opportunity. Who was responsible for this?

[Answer] I was almost certain that if I went to the United Nations or if the fact-finding commission completed its task, we would have been able to bring back the shah. But, every time and at the critical moment, something has happened to abort all that we have tried to build.

Those who are responsible for this are everywhere, unfortunately, because there is not one but several decision-making centers. When there is such an overlapping of responsibilities, it is difficult to determine who was behind this or that decision.

[Question] Where are those responsible?

[Answer] They are everywhere. They imagine that with such methods and tactics they can win power but, as everybody has observed, the opposite has happened.

[Question] How do you intend to solve the problems of minorities in Iran?

[Answer] We cannot describe every faction desiring to gain a special status for itself as a minority. The Kurds for example, are not a minority. Since Iran has existed the Kurdish element has constituted a basic element in the country. But some others can be regarded as minorities. In any case, our policy is clear: if we are certain that any minority, big or small, is not linked with or under the tutelage [of a foreign power], then we can accept the principle of consultation [shura] and give each area the right to elect its council and administer its own affairs.

[Question] Are you not concerned about the fate of the Iranian Revolution and international stability in Iran after Imam Khomeyni departs?

[Answer] I am concerned whether the imam departs or not. There are factors calling for pessimism. But man is not born in order to be overwhelmed by worries and concern but in order to struggle and try to develop. If man succeeds in achieving everything that he has on his mind, that is good, but if he fails then at least he will have done all he can.

[Question] How do you view your relations with the Arab world?

[Answer] The present relations that link us with the Arab governments are not good. This is obvious, because we do not consider them independent governments and, consequently, we do not wish to deal with them.

[Question] Does this mean that, as a matter of principle, you do not want to establish good relations with the Arab governments?

[Answer] The problem is not whether we want to or not. The problem is that they do not want to, because they imagine that we are a serious disease and that if they open their doors to us then everybody will be infected.

[Question] What happens if an Arab government takes an initiative toward you? will you respond?

[Answer] I cannot give assurances about our response.

[Question] One of your major charges against the Arab regimes is, as you stated, that they are not directly elected by the people and that they consist of families and groups ruling without consultation with the people. Can you, in principle, cooperate with these regimes?

[Answer] I cannot confirm this. We have a basic principle which is the right of self-determination, and that, for us, is a strategic point. We cannot help the peoples militarily and materially as much as we can help them by showing them the regime we are building, so that they will be liberated and prevent others from interfering.

[Question] If an Islamic popular movement in one of the Arab countries asked for your help, would your decision be based on the international conditions and your relations with the Arab country concerned, or do you have any principled stand on this subject?

[Answer] No, no. We have a principled stand and we will definitely help such a movement.

[Question] It is known that you reject the shah's achievements and work. The shah occupied three islands in the Gulf, which are the Greater and Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa Islands. Why do you not evacuate these islands?

[Answer] Evacuate them, so that who will come to them? To whom did these islands belong? I will explain to you the situation on the map. There in the south there are Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Oman, Dubai, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. As far as we are concerned these countries are linked to the United States and are not independent. At the end of the Gulf is the Strait of Hormuz, through which oil passes. They are afraid of our revolution, if we allow them to have these islands, they will dominate the strait, in other words it will be the United States that will dominate this gateway. Can we present such a "gift" to the United States?

If we, all the countries on the Gulf, were independent states, this subject would not have been raised, because such problems about small islands would not have arisen and we would have returned the islands to them.

[Question] Then you do not intend to give the islands back?

[Answer] No. Never. On the contrary, I intend to clear the Persian Gulf of the American presence and of everything that is connected with the United States.

[Question] The Palestinian revolution has not seriously denounced the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. What is your opinion about this, and will it have repercussions on your relations with the PLO?

[Answer] 'Arafat has told me that he denounced the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and participated in the Islamic conference which condemned this intervention. In any case, I am against sacrificing facts and principles for the sake of interests.

[Question] So, until an Islamic awakening occurs in the Arab world, Tehran's relations with the Arab capitals will not improve?

[Answer] No. They will not improve.

[Question] Even if non-Islamic but popular and democratic regimes emerge?

[Answer] That is also impossible, because a popular regime cannot possibly emerge in any Islamic country without its being an Islamic regime, since Islam is the oppressed people's ideology and way to salvation. It is impossible for a popular non-Islamic movement to exist in the Arab world or in any of the world's Islamic countries. I cannot comprehend or imagine such a movement.

[Question] It appears that the case of Imam Musa as-Sadr is preventing the improvement of Iranian-Libyan relations. Do you have any evidence that enables you to affirm that Imam as-Sadr is still alive?

[Answer] No. I have no tangible evidence that enables me to confirm that Imam as-Sadr is still alive. I only have some information about the case, despite the fact that 18 months have passed since the imam's disappearance. We have often tried to find trace of him, but we have found nothing.

[Question] Italian investigators are convinced that the imam did not set foot on Italian soil. Do you believe that your relations with Libya can be improved until the truth about the imam's disappearance is revealed?

[Answer] We have earnestly tried to build good relations with Libya, but we are a popular movement and, like every popular movement, our revolution has feelings. Rationality and irrationality exist in theory only because, when man thinks, he is full of feelings. The Iranian people love the Arabs. For our part, we intend no estrangement from the Arabs. The ordinary Iranian feels that he is the friend of the Arab and has the same identity as the Arab.

The case of Imam as-Sadr alone creates popular feelings that prevent us from getting closer to Libya. I hope that the Libyan government will understand all this. The Libyan authorities have often emphasized to us that they have nothing to do with this case and no interest in what has happened. But I said and I repeat that finding no trade of Imam as-Sadr after his disappearance 18 months ago is a great loss to the Islamic world. To say that the imam left Libya is, I think, not enough, because this is no excuse.

[Question] Are you pessimistic about this issue?

[Answer] No. I am not pessimistic. I am an optimistic man and to be pessimistic I must have information confirming the death of the imam. So far, I do not have such information. Therefore, we are still hoping that the imam is alive. We must continue searching until we find him.

[Question] How do you view the Shi'ites in Lebanon?

[Answer] The Shi'ites in Lebanon are the most deprived. When the civil war in Lebanon started, I wrote an article in which I explained the stand which Imam as-Sadr should take. In the article, I asked the imam to adopt a stand that would prevent the fragmentation of the Lebanese people. The article was entitled: "Lebanon's Conscience."

I believed that the imam had to play the role of unifier of the Lebanese people on the basis of the principle of independence from all the forces in the area--that is, instead of bringing in the Syrian or UN forces, the Lebanese people should have tried to understand what we are not trying to do in Iran: unite internally and stand fast externally. It is regrettable that nobody proposed this policy--neither the imam nor anybody else.

The Shi'ites in Lebanon must now try to create a passive balance [tawazun salbi]. That is, they must try to depend only on their own forces, because their weakness is a source of strength to others. The Shi'ites in Lebanon, who suffered most from the conflict with Israel, must find themselves. They must try to search for their identity and for their strength by taking initiatives and action, and to employ that strength. Otherwise they will remain the most deprived, the permanent sacrifice, because in politics the weakest pays the price.

This has been my opinion from the beginning. I believed that they must arm themselves. When I met Imam Musa as-Sadr in Paris in the late sixties I expressed this opinion to him.

[Question] Do you believe that the Shi'ites' search for their identity is contrary to Lebanon's unity and to the existence of other communities on its territories?

[Answer] We must first define what are Lebanon's needs: to be free and strong vis-a-vis everything foreign--Israel, Syria and any other party. The Shi'ites can and must play a vanguard role in this regard. The Shi'ites' state of deprivation is due to the fact that they have not yet played such a role. If they will not play this role in the future, there will be no justification for their existence, for Shi'a means vanguardism.

Such a role is absolutely not contrary to Lebanon's unity, with the existence of other communities on its territories. The opposite is true.

We Shi'ites in Iran have played a vanguard role, with whose context the other communities agree. The Shi'ites must play the same role in Lebanon; that is, to present the identity of independence and not of subordination. This role will be unanimously accepted by the other communities or, at least, by the deprived people in the other communities.

[Question] Do you have plans to visit the Arab world?

[Answer] Not at present.

[Question] If you were to travel to the Arab world today, which country would you prefer to visit?

[Answer] (After a pause) I would visit the country in which the people have a strong voice and a big role.

[Question] For example?

[Answer] (After a pause) the country that is relatively closest to us at present is Algeria; and, if it were not for the Imam as-Sadr case, Libya too, although we do not agree with it on everything.

There are also popular movements inside the Arab world which I would like the opportunity to visit.

[Question] So you believe that Algeria is the closest country to you at present. What do you think about former President Ahmed Ben Bella, who has been in detention for approximately 15 years without trial and without any charges being filed against him?

[Answer] We in Iran too still have much injustice which so far we have been unable to remove. We are still lacking much to insure that justice will prevail. In any case, there is injustice in every part of the world.

I liked Ben Bella greatly. When I was a student his picture hung in my room. Ben Bella is the bright image of the revolutionary who refuses to submit to the West. It was with great sorrow that one day I learned of his arrest. I felt then that the Algerian Revolution had lost its sun and its sky had become dark and starless. But, as you know, in time one becomes used to everything, and I became used to his absence. But I will never forget him, and I still respect him.

[Question] Do you intend to bring up Ben Bella's case with Algerian President Bendjedid if you meet him, or do you consider this an internal Algerian matter?

[Answer] The question of Ben Bella is a purely Algerian internal matter, but men who play a major role in revolutions become an international issue.

If one day I meet President Bendjedid, I will tell him that the revolution must not arrest one of its makers. If I have the opportunity I will express my view to President Chadli Bendjedid. Why not, if I dream of a world free of prisons?

[Question] Do you want to address a final word to the Arab people?

[Answer] I would like to tell the Arab people that, if Arabism were the number one objective, the Prophet would not have brought about Islam.

The Arab people did not unite before, and they will not unite on the basis of Western-imported patriotic and national principles which the military regimes are now using only to safeguard their existence.

The Arab people's identity is cultural: Therefore, they must search for their identity within this culture.

The base of this culture is Islam. Through Islam the Arab people will not only find their unity and do away with Israel but will also be able to unite with other Islamic peoples. This would be the approach to the emergence of a new humanity.

TUDEH PARTY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON ELECTIONS

LD160927 Budapest MTI in English 0623 GMT 16 Mar 80 LD

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)--MTI's special correspondent Istvan Ambrus reports from Tehran:

Iranian Home Minister [as received] Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani has said that three days are needed for counting votes polled on Friday in the National Assembly elections and three further days are required for the authorities to examine numerous complaints lodged about manipulation of ballots and allegations regarding violation of poll provisions. As such the official results are to be declared next week on Thursday.

The communist Tudeh Party too is waiting for the final results, without which it cannot evaluate the elections. The party, however, can already establish that the National Assembly elections were held in an anti-democratic manner in Iran, said Siasi, head of the Tudeh's international relations department, in an interview to the MTI correspondent.

The Tudeh had suggested proportional representation in the legislature. It had said that electors should not be made to vote for unknown persons and politicians with vague programmes, but rather for parties.

The 270 parliamentary seats should be allotted to the political parties conforming to the proportion of votes secured by them.

The suggestion, however, was rejected on the ground that Iran "has no traditions of party politics and here political life is confined to persons."

The Tudeh's basic aim was not to secure seats in parliament. It used the elections and especially the poll campaign to strengthen its influence and harness the campaign possibility for reducing the impact of prejudices that emerged against the party when it was under ban.

"Despite the obvious non-democratic conditions, the Tudeh took part in the elections and fielded 110 candidates. Ten of these, however, were not accepted by the authorities, in most of the cases for ridiculous reasons," said Siasi. For instance, the objection against one of the Tudeh candidates was that during the shah's regime he escaped from Iran and lived in the Soviet Union for years. The nomination of a Tudeh candidate in Kermanshah city was rejected on the ground that he is notorious because of his criminal record. This man had really been imprisoned several times because of his political views during the shah regime.

In several constituencies where the Iranian communists did not field any candidate, the Tudeh supported the nominees of leftist organizations--Mojahedin-e Khalq and Feda'i-ye Khalq--or they voted for progressive-minded independent candidates, concluded the head of the Tudeh's international relations department.

REVOLUTION GUARDS ISSUE STATEMENT ON FACTORY OIL FIRE

LD251822 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1727 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] Following a fire in the Ahvaz factory No 4 on 22 March, which caused a break and consequently a fire in the oil pipelines from oil wells nos 73 and 102 in Ahvaz, the Corps of Revolution Guards of Ahvaz issued a statement today regarding the causes of the fire. The statement, made available to the PARS NEW AGENCY in Ahvaz, says:

The oil pool in the eastern wing of the factory, located at a distance of 500 metres from the factory building, overflowed with oil; subsequently the oil began to run toward the neighboring farms. The farmers came to the factory and informed the factory officials about the matter.

The factory officials initially proceeded to build a few earthen dams, but this did not do the job. Then they proceeded to set fire to the oil in the pool and also the oil overflowing without any regard to safety considerations. Meanwhile, the oil pipelines from oil wells numbers 73 and 102, situated 1 km from the factory, exploded as a result of the intense heat cuased by the oil burning under the pipelines.

The main agent of this damage to public Muslim funds--which has been extremely heavy--is attributed to negligence and lack of attention on the part of individuals. Once a full investigation into the incident has been completed, disciplinary measures will be taken against those involved.

GEOPHYSICS CENTER ISSUES REPORT ON KHVOY EARTHQUAKE

LD252312 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] Following our correspondent's dispatch from Urumiyeh today on the earthquake in Khvoy, Tehran University's geophysics center, in a report to the central news unit of the Voice and Profile of the Islamic Republic of Iran, announced:

At 0828 an earthquake took place 650 km northwest of Tehran, in the vicinity of Khvoy and Qarsh Zia'oddin. The intensity of this tremor was 4.2 on the Richter scale. The geophysics center added: The reflection of the waves caused by this earthquake caused another tremor in the same region with an intensity of about 4 degrees on the Richter scale at 0850 this morning.

REVOLUTION COUNCIL MEMBERS ARRIVE IN BANDAR 'ABBAS

LD231108 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0930 GMT 23 Mar 80 LD

[Text] The first secretary of the Revolution Council and president of the Supreme Court and another Revolution Council member arrived at Bandar 'Abbas this morning for a visit to Hormozegan Province. The two officials will take part at 2000 this evening in a meeting attended by some local groups to discuss and debate the country's problems and deficiencies of Hormozegan Province. The state prosecutor general, who is at present in the province, has also been discussing the general situation in the country and the province with local groups for the past two evenings.

VIOLENCE, DISORDER REPORTED, DISCUSSED

Release of Urumiyeh Hostages

LD251744 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1724 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] Following the 64th Urumiyeh Division's statement in connection with the attack by illegal armed elements on the Awojbolagh gendarmerie post, the PARS NEWS AGENCY reports from Urumiyeh that those arrested have been transferred to Urumiyeh by responsible officials from Oshnaviyeh and were handed back.

It is necessary to note that illegal armed elements, at 2100 on 23 March, attacked the Awojbolagh post and that in the ensuing clashes two people were martyred and three others wounded.

The 64th Urumiyeh Division, in its statement yesterday, gave the illegal armed elements an ultimatum, which expired at 1200 today, to release those they had arrested. According to the same report, those who had been arrested were released before the deadline expired.

Gang's Attack on Village

LD251100 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0930 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] At about 2200 last night, a group reported to have been about 200 in number climbed the walls of Dehkadeh Saheli near the Ghazian area of Bandar Anzali, entered the grounds of this residential area and shouting "God is Great" and slogans like "Death to Capitalists" went to the eastern end of this residential village and destroyed the restaurant and self-service cafeteria. They also set fire to the house of the managing director of the Dahkadeh Saheli company.

The Bandar Anzali fire brigade reported in connection with this incident that personnel of this brigade went to the location as soon as they were informed of the fire, but they were not able to extinguish the fire because of interference by the demonstrators. When the fire brigade personnel returned the house of the managing director of the company had burned down completely and their efforts were in vain. According to reports received, nobody was injured in this incident.

In connection with this incident, and to find more information about it, the police chief of Bandar Anzali was contacted this morning, but unfortunately, he declined to give any information to the news unit, Rasht center, and said that he was not informed of the incident. It should be added that nearly 200 families live in this village.

REPORTAGE ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Soviets 'Agree' to Regional Conference

TA251624 London BBC World Service in English 1600 GMT 25 Mar 80 TA

[From "World News"]

[Text] The Iranian foreign minister, Mr Qotbzadeh, has said the Soviet Union agreed in principle to take part in a regional conference with all parties concerned with the situation in Afghanistan, to discuss the Soviet withdrawal from the country. Such a conference would also guarantee the neutrality of Afghanistan and the territorial integrity of the region.

Speaking to correspondents in Tehran, Mr Qotbzadeh said that if a peaceful solution failed, Iran would give all help it possibly could to the Afghan rebels fighting against the Soviet troops and the Soviet-backed government in Kabul.

Last week, Ayatollah Khomeyni and President Bani-Sadr strongly condemned the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

Qotbzadeh on Afghanistan

AU221957 Rome ANSA in English 1940 GMT 22 Mar 80 AU

[Text] ANSA, Tehran, March 22--The Iranian Government intends to continue in its bid to obtain the extradition of the deposed Shah Reza Pahlavi from Panama, Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh said here today. In an interview with ANSA, the minister disclosed that two Iranian envoys are currently in Panama to submit a dossier on the former monarch to local authorities.

Iran wants the shah to be returned to Iran so that he can be tried by an Islamic court.

Qotbzadeh declined to make any forecasts on the composition of the future Iranian Parliament which will have to decide the fate of the fifty American hostages who have been held for more than four and a half months in the American Embassy in Tehran, occupied by a group of militant Islamic students.

The 270 members of the Majles, the first Iranian Parliament after the revolution, will be elected through two ballotings. The first was on March 14 (but the results have not yet been released) and the second is slated for April 4. "I am sure that the Parliament will reach a just decision for the hostages," the minister said.

Qotbzadeh also said that Iran views favorably the propoal President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr made yesterday for an international inquiry commission into the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The minister said that the proposal was made first by Palestinian Liberation Organization leader Yasir 'Arafat a month ago but that it was rejected by the Soviet Union. Iran considers this "the most acceptable" proposal so far. The commission could be composed of members of the countries directly involved--Afghanistan, USSR, Pakistan and Iran, the minister said.

Asked to comment on the need "to export the Iranian Islamic Revolution", as had been recently underscored by Bani-Sadr and religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni, the foreign minister said the phrase whould not be interpreted literally. "Exporting the revolution does not mean that we intend to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries. We only want that the rest of the world understands the principles on which our revolution is based so that our country can be an example to others".

The minister also said that the good relations existing between Iran and Italy can be further developed, on one condition: That the Italian Government remain "independent from any other country" in its relations with Iran.

Bani-Sadr Interview on Afghanistan

LD261050 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0930 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] According to an AFP report, the Arab international weekly AN-NAHAR, published in Paris, reported today that Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr has announced that if the struggling Afghan Muslims ask for arms from his country their request will be accepted immediately. But Bani-Sadr specified that the fighters had not requested arms, however. They prefer medical assistance and other equipment.

In his interview with the weekly paper Bani-Sadr specified that at present the only assistance provided by Iran to the Afghan strugglers is assistance to the refugees arriving in Iran. The president of Iran then explained that the Islamic Revolution, having freed itself from the claws of the United States, will not fall into the hands of the Soviet Union.

Message From Islamic Organization

JN251944 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 25 Mar 80 JN

[Text] Dear listeners, the Islamic Revolution organization in the Arabian Peninsula has sent the following message: In the name of God, protector of the oppressed and enemy of tyrants, [word indistinct] the Arabic section of the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran. We send to you the greetings of Islam and the revolution. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be with you. We would like to extend our thanks and regards to you for carrying out the duty which we are responsible for in our service of the Islamic revolution and the rising oppressed peoples, particularly for the truths you broadcast about the circumstances under which our steadfast struggling people in the Arabian Peninsula are living. We request you to broadcast more Islamic revolutionary programs and items which relate the struggles and circumstances of the oppressed peoples.

Allow us to draw your attention to a report which was broadcast by your radio quoting the PARS NEWS AGENCY. It says there have been demonstrations in the eastern area in the steadfast Al-Qatif city and the petroleum university. This report is not true, since following the Friday demonstrations [word indistinct] the recovery of His Eminence Imam Khomeyni, which we reported to you and sent a recording of, there have been no other demonstrations as PARS NEWS AGENCY reported to you. We do not know where the PARS NEWS AGENCY got this report. We would like to ask you to make sure of the sources of such reports. Please accept our deep thanks and the regards of the Mujahid people in the Arabian Peninsula.

[Signed] The Islamic Revolution Organization in the Arabian Peninsula.

## Purge of 'Ba'th Agents'

JN240815 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0700 GMT 24 Mar 80 JN

[Text] PARS NEWS AGENCY quotes the Muslim Revolution Guards in Kermanshah as saying that the District of Serimeh, located in (Jawamrud) region, has been purged of Iraqi Ba'th agents by the Revolution Guards members and the Peshmerga Kurds.

Reports say that one person was injured during the clashes which took place there.

## Discussions With Romanian Trade Delegation

Tehran TIMES in English 9 Mar 80 p 2 WA

[Text] Tehran--A Romanian trade delegation is currently here to sell meat, dairy products and other commodities to Iran. The delegation headed by the Romanian minister of state for foreign trade, on Thursday held a meeting with Iran's Oil Minister 'Ali Akbar Mo'infar and Deputy Minister of Commerce Shajaoddin Fatchi and discussed various matters concerning commercial cooperation between the two countries.

If the negotiations are successful the two countries will sign a bilateral agreement for the exchange of goods between Iran and Romania.

Official sources said the Romanian delegation, during its meetings with Iranian authorities, also discussed the possibilities of closer cooperation in the field of commerce and industry and offered to provide Iran with all possible technical assistance to help promote the industrial development in this country.

## Khalkhali Statement in Tripoli

LD251022 Tripoli JANA in English 0941 GMT 25 Mar 80 LD

[Text] Tripoli, March 25, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY--On his arrival in Tripoli yesterday, Ayatollah Khalkhali, a leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, made a statement to our representative in which he stressed that the Iranian Revolution is proud of the grand fatah revolution and its historic leadership.

The U.S. Government and all colonialists and imperialists are trying to deal a blow to the revolutions in Libya and Iran, he said, but the Iranian people will defeat all these colonialist plots because Allah is watching over them.

Then Khalkhali referred to the defeated Egyptian president's stand towards the Arab and Islamic cause saying that President as-Sadat is a traitor and agent of Carter and terrorist Begin and all the Zionists of the world. This traitor of Islam, he said, will receive same punishment imposed on the deposed shah by the Iranian people.

## Bani-Sadr on Arab Ties

NC231549 Paris AFP in English 1532 GMT 23 Mar 80 NC

[Text] Paris, March 23 (AFP)--Iran will "never" return three gulf islands occupied in 1971 to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) as they were "not independent states" but appendages of the United States, Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr said here.

In an interview with the Arabic weekly AN-NAHAR AL-ARABI WA AD-DUWALI published here tomorrow, President Bani-Sadr said the islands, Abu Musa and the two Tumbs, belonged to nobody and to return them would put "the United States in control of the oil route through the Strait of Hormuz".

Mr Bani-Sadr added that not only would Iran hold onto the islands, but hoped to "clean the gulf of any American presence."

The ousted shah of Iran occupied the islands on November 30, 1971 on the eve of UAE independence, leading Iraq to break diplomatic relations with Iran and Britain.

Turning to relations with the Arab world in general, the Iranian president said that "in some ways", Algeria was the closest to Tehran, adding that Libya would be second if it were not for the disappearance there in 1978 of Iranian Imam Musa as-Sadr.

NATIONAL VOICE OF IRAN DISCUSSES NATURE OF REVOLUTION

[Editorial Report GF] The clandestine National Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran at 1730 GMT on 22 March broadcast a commentary, entitled "The New Year, A Year of Decision for our Nation's Anti-Imperialist Struggle," which says: "Once again if we think more about the Iranian Revolution we can further understand how this revolution is an anti-imperialist revolution. The Iranian Revolution, which achieved victory and destroyed the phoney regime of Mohammad Reza, could also harm U.S. interests in Iran. As we know, the traitorous Mohammad Reza turned Iran into a base for U.S. imperialism. During that time our country was treated as a state of the United States. The victory of the revolution ended this shameful situation. One of the blows the revolution inflicted on U.S. imperialism was the revival of the oil nationalization law.

U.S. imperialism has lost one of its bases in the region. It is therefore not surprising that the United States initiated conspiracies immediately after victory was attained. The reason behind these conspiracies is that our nation is no longer willing to give its oil to the United States free of charges. Of course, our nation cannot remain silent in the face of the conspiracies of the United States. The Iranian Revolution has reached a new stage--the explusion of U.S. influence from our country.

PANAMANIAN PRESIDENT ROYO'S STATEMENTS TO TOKYO PRESS ON SHAH

For the KYODO Account of President Royo's remarks on the Shah's departure for Cairo and related matters see the Japan section of the 26 March Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT.

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